

INTL 4225: Domestic Politics and International Relations

“...the public policy, foreign or domestic, in which a man believes, is the logical extension of the philosophy which governs his behavior as an individual toward the society in which he lives...What we are, here at home, conditions and determines what we do as a nation outside of our own borders; and conversely...our relationships abroad influence and to a large extent determine what sort of society we are able to create at home.”

--James P. Warburg, *Foreign Policy Begins at Home* (1945)

Instructor

Professor Andrea Everett

Office: 311 Candler Hall

Hours: Tues. 1:00 pm – 3:00 pm

Sign up at <http://www.wejoinin.com/everetta@uga.edu>

Course Information

Spring 2014

T*Th 9:30 am – 10:45 am

Location: MLC 153

Email: everetta@uga.edu

COURSE DESCRIPTION

In this course, we will examine how the features of a state's domestic political landscape (such as its political institutions, elections, economic structures, and public opinion) interact with its behavior on the world stage. How do these forces influence a state's relations with other countries? Conversely, how do salient features of the world a state inhabits influence its domestic political structures and outcomes?

The course is divided into 3 sections. During the first part, we will focus on the actors and institutions that make and influence foreign policy. We will consider a number of theories about the sources of these actors' interests and preferences, about their effects on foreign policy, and about how they interact with one another. We will pay particular attention to theories that compare and contrast the roles of democratic institutions and societies with those in non-democracies.

In the remainder of the course we will examine applications to international security and conflict, and to international economic relations. We will consider questions such as: How do a state's political institutions affect its propensity to go to war and its effectiveness when it does so? Why don't democracies tend to fight wars with each other? How do leaders seek to maintain support for costly wars? Who wins and loses from international trade?

From time to time we will also integrate elements of basic social science research design into our in-class activities. This will help you build the skills needed to comprehend and critically evaluate the arguments we will read and discuss throughout the semester.

OBJECTIVES

In this course you will learn:

- To identify the primary actors, institutions, and social forces responsible for shaping foreign policy in democracies and non-democracies
- To recognize the sources of these actors' political interests, and thus to analyze the potential motives underlying their policy preferences

- To use evidence to evaluate theories and arguments about *how* each of these actors matter, and about how they interact with each other
- More generally, to evaluate the persuasiveness of empirical claims using evidence
- To become a more informed consumer of news media and foreign policy debates

READINGS

We will read at least several chapters of the following books, which I therefore recommend for purchase. They are available at the university bookstore as well as online:

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita. *Principles of International Politics*, 5th edition (2013). Sage/CQ Press. (Marked as 'BDM' below)
- Dan Reiter and Allen C. Stam, *Democracies at War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2002.

The remaining readings consist of academic journal articles, newspaper articles, and chapters from books not listed above. They are posted under 'Course Content' on the course website through the eLearning Commons (ELC/Blackboard) at <https://www.elc.uga.edu>. Note that a few of the PDFs posted on ELC contain additional pages that you are not required to read – in these cases you may wish not to print the whole document.

REQUIREMENTS and EVALUATION

Participation, Readings & Quizzes (15%)

Attendance and active participation in class are mandatory. Although the course will be largely lecture-based, we will also spend time engaging in classroom discussion and debates. Comprehension of the course material and active participation in class will depend on completing the assigned readings. Students are expected to complete all readings before the class meeting for which they are assigned, and to come to class ready to contribute. You should bring a paper or electronic copy of the readings to class in order to facilitate discussion and questions.

This course requires a substantial amount of reading (100 to 150 pages most weeks), which is intended both to expose you to a wide array of arguments and to help you learn to become more efficient and critical readers. In order to facilitate effective reading, you should try to answer the following questions as you go through each assigned piece: What is the author's main point or argument? What arguments or point of view (if any) is s/he arguing against? What evidence does s/he use to support her argument? Is it compelling? Are there other arguments / evidence that could be used to contradict it? How does the author's argument relate to the other readings for the week, and for previous weeks? In addition, I strongly recommend writing down questions and insights as you do the readings in order to help foster active participation and discussion in class.

In order to encourage attendance and timely reading, an unspecified number of short, unannounced quizzes based on the readings will be administered at the beginning of class. These quizzes are designed to be very easy if you did the readings, and very difficult if you did not. There will be no excused absences from these quizzes, but your lowest grade will be dropped. Thus, you may miss one quiz with no penalty for any reason. I will not take attendance during each class period, but the quizzes will be graded to reflect both attendance and reading. We will discuss this at greater length in class.

Participation grades will be based on both the quizzes / attendance, and on active participation in class discussions and activities. I will define participation broadly, however, and interaction with me in office hours – so long as it concerns active discussion of course material – may qualify as well.

Finally, I strongly encourage students to make a habit of seeking out and keeping up with international news. Recommended sources include the *New York Times*, *The Economist*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Foreign Affairs*.

Exams (25% each) – February 4th and March 27th

There will be two closed-book exams, which will cover the readings as well as lectures and other in-class activities and discussions. Much of the material that we cover in class will not be in the readings, and vice versa. *All* of it is fair game. Each exam will cover the entire course up until that point. Thus, the second exam will be cumulative.

Final Analytical Paper (35%) – Due April 24th

Students will be responsible for writing one 8-page double-spaced (1-inch margins) analytical paper in response to a prompt provided by me. The goal of this exercise is to demonstrate your ability to apply the concepts and theories that we will study throughout the course.

You will have a choice between several questions, which you will receive on Thursday, April 3rd. The paper will be due at the beginning of the final class on April 24th. This gives you three weeks, which should be plenty of time to ask questions, attend office hours, and seek necessary help.

Grading Rubric for the Paper

For the paper, you will be asked to make an argument and defend it using evidence based on materials from reading and lectures. Your grade will depend on the clarity of your argument and writing, the quality of your analysis (including the evidence you bring to bear in support of your claims), and the structure of your essay. I will be looking for a clear, logical argument that responds directly to the question prompt. A well-organized essay should begin by briefly stating your argument and then move on to explain the logic behind it (the *why*), and present the evidence you use to back up your claims. You should have clear transitions between paragraphs and between different sections of the essay, as well as a short conclusion. The more evidence you cite for your position (and to undermine alternative positions), the stronger your argument will be. Evidence may include statistics, examples, events, or anecdotes taken from the readings, lecture, or outside sources.

The sources of ALL evidence, and all arguments discussed in class or readings, must be cited appropriately. To do so, you may use footnotes or in-text citations, as long as you are consistent throughout the paper. Please do not use endnotes. Wherever relevant, you must include page numbers. You may use either APA or Chicago style (see <http://www.apastyle.org/> and http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html). You should use Internet sources with care, as information is often unverified. In general, Internet sources should be limited to trusted organizations, and should not include blogs or Wikipedia.

POLICIES

Make-up Exams & Late/Missing Assignments

Students are expected to attend all exams and to complete all assignments on time. There will be no make-up exams or paper extensions except in case of an appropriately documented family or medical emergency. Extension requests are more compelling if you contact me *in advance* about a potentially disruptive medical or family condition. You must also contact me during the first week of the semester if there is a university-excused conflict that will prevent you from taking an exam in class on the scheduled date. For the paper, assignments received within an hour of the deadline will receive a penalty of one-third of a grade reduction. Papers received within 24 hours of the deadline will be penalized two-thirds of a grade. An additional one-third of a grade will be deducted for each subsequent 24-hour period or portion thereof. Papers more than three days late will not be accepted. The clock stops when you *email* me a copy of the paper.

Technology and Etiquette in the Classroom

Students are asked to follow basic etiquette in class by arriving and leaving on time, raising your hand before speaking in class, and refraining from insults or threatening behavior. Students are to ***turn off or silence all mobile devices*** prior to class. Students may use laptops to take notes during lecture or to refer to readings during class discussion, but not for web surfing/social networking/email, etc. If I find that use of student computers for non-course related purposes becomes a problem, I reserve the right to reduce students' final grades as a result. Finally, failure to abide by these policies may result in the student being asked to leave the classroom.

Honor Code & Plagiarism

As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at www.uga.edu/honesty. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to me. Any student caught cheating or engaging in plagiarism will be referred to judicial affairs, as required by university policy.

Grade Appeals

Requests for re-grades of exams or papers may be made no less than 5, and no more than 14, days after receiving a graded assignment. This permits you to think about and compose a justification for the request, but also ensures that we address any grading concerns together in an expeditious manner. I will not consider requests for re-grades outside this window. All re-grade requests must explain why the original grade was inaccurate and include a copy of the original assignment. All requests will result in the assignment being re-graded ***in its entirety***, and I reserve the right to adjust the grade ***either up or down***. Any computational errors, by contrast, should be brought to my attention immediately. Finally, students should keep copies of the assignments they turn in and retain graded assignments, quizzes, and exams until they receive their final course grade.

Disability Accommodation

The University of Georgia seeks to provide students with disabilities the opportunity to fully participate in educational programs and services. In keeping with this philosophy, it is University policy that students with documented disabilities receive reasonable accommodation in order to facilitate their full engagement in classroom activities. Any student who requires special accommodations because of a university-documented condition should contact me no later than the

second week of the semester in order to facilitate appropriate and timely arrangements with the Disability Resource Center.

Email Policy

I will respond to course-related emails within 48 hours during the week, but I may not check them over the weekend (*Exception: I will not answer paper-related questions by email during the 24 hours before they are due*). Students should plan accordingly, and contact me by Thursday morning with questions needing an answer by the weekend. I will not respond to questions whose answers are contained in the syllabus. If you have administrative questions (Why can't I download this reading? When is the final paper due?), please review the syllabus and then ask a fellow student before contacting me. If you cannot find an answer after asking a classmate, of course I will be happy to help. Students who miss a class are responsible for obtaining lecture notes, instructions, and other information from a classmate.

Office Hours

Normal office hours will be Tuesday afternoons from 1:00 – 3:00 pm, but I may schedule additional times as needed. You may sign up for office hours at <http://www.wejoinin.com/everetta@uga.edu>. You may come without an appointment, but I will honor preexisting appointments before walk-ins.

Many students attend office hours only immediately before papers are due or after grades are returned. I am very happy to answer questions about course material and papers up until the due dates, but I strongly encourage you to use office hours throughout the semester and hope that you will visit whenever you think discussion on an individual basis would be helpful. If you are concerned about your class participation grade, speaking with me about course material during office hours can be a good way to boost your score. Finally, if you cannot attend office hours during the scheduled time, I will be happy to make an appointment for another time.

COURSE PLAN

**The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.*

Week 1 – Introduction

January 7 – Introduction & Syllabus

Reading: Syllabus – Review Carefully

January 9 – IR Theory and Domestic Politics (60 pages)

BDM, Introduction (p.1-33) & Chapter 1 (read only p.36-47)

Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories,” *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring 1998): 29-32+34-46.

PART 1: WHO INFLUENCES FOREIGN POLICY? HOW?

Week 2 – Political Institutions & the Policy Apparatus

January 14 – Leadership Selection & Separation of Powers (52 pages)

BDM, Chapter 2 (p.65-95)

James M. Lindsay, “Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters,” *Political Science Quarterly* 107(4) (Winter 1992-93): 607-628.

January 16 – Bureaucracies (51 pages)

Graham Allison, “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis”. 1969. *American Political Science Review* 63(3): 689-718.

Stephen Krasner, “Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland),” *Foreign Policy* 7 (1972): 159-179.

Week 3 – Pressure Groups & Public Opinion

January 21 – Interest & Advocacy Groups (63 pages)

Gene M. Grossman and Elhanan Helpman, *Special Interest Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 2001. Read p.1-13.

BDM, Chapter 1 (p.47-63)

Discussion of "The Israel Lobby":

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books* 28(6) (March 2006)

—Note: For the PDF posted on ELC, the article is on p.1-26, so you need not print p.27-53

—Also available at <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>.

Daniel W. Drezner. "Methodological Confusion: How indictments of The Israel Lobby expose political science's flaws." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 22, 2008. (4 pages)

Noam Chomsky, "The Israel Lobby?" March 28, 2006. (3 pages)

January 23 – Public Opinion (66 pages)

John H. Aldrich, John L. Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida, "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience'?" *American Political Science Review* 83(1) (March 1989): 123-141.

Thomas Knecht And M. Stephen Weatherford, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Stages of Presidential Decision Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 50(3) (September 2006): 705-727.

Zaller, John. "Coming to Grips with V. O. Key's Concept of Latent Opinion." In *Electoral Democracy*. Edited by Michael MacKuen and George Rabinowitz. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003. P.311-334.

Recommended / Additional Resources for Week 3

Mearsheimer & Walt's response to their critics, "Setting the Record Straight."

Week 4 – The Media & the Outside World

January 28 – The Media (59 pages)

Robert M. Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Read Chapter 1, p.1-28.

Matthew A. Baum, "Soft News and Foreign Policy: How Expanding the Audience Changes the Policies," *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 8(1): 115-145.

January 30 – Domestic-International Interactions (66 pages)

Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization* 32(4) (Autumn 1978): 881-912.

Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42(3) (Summer 1988): 427-460.

Week 5 – Exam

February 4 – In-class Exam 1

February 6 – TBD (Away at Conference – Potential Screening of *Dr. Strangelove*)

PART II: APPLICATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT & SECURITY

Week 6 – Are Democracies More Peaceful? (I)

February 11 – Audience Costs (30 pages)

Are democracies better at signaling their intentions?

BDM, Chapter 6 (Read p.205-220)

James Fearon, “Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes,” *The American Political Science Review* 88 (3): 577-92.

February 13 – Conflict Initiation

Do Democracies Choose Their Fights More Carefully?

Dan Reiter and Allen C. Stam, *Democracies at War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2002.
Read Ch. 2 (p.10-38).

William Howell and Jon Pevehouse, “When Congress Stops Wars.” *Foreign Affairs*
September/October 2007 (8 pages).

Jessica L. Weeks, “Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict,” *American Political Science Review* 106(2) (May 2012): 326-347.

Recommended / Additional Resources for Week 6

Jack Snyder and Erica D. Borghard, “The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound,” *The American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 437-56.

Jessica L. Weeks, “Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve,” *International Organization* 62(1) (Winter, 2008): 35-64.

Kenneth A. Schultz, “Domestic Opposition and Signaling in International Crises,” *American Political Science Review* 92 (4) (December 1998): 829 – 844.

Week 7 – Are Democracies More Peaceful? (II)

February 18 – The Democratic Peace (30 pages)

Are democracies especially good at avoiding war with each other?

BDM Ch14 (Read p.443-454)

Sebastian Rosato, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory,” *American Political Science Review* 97(4) (December 2003): 585-602.

February 20 – The March of Democracy? (55 pages)

Do democracies spread peace by promoting democracy abroad?

Mansfield & Snyder, “Democratization and the Danger of War,” *International Security* 20(1) (Summer 1995): 5 – 38.

BDM Ch14 (Read p.454-474)

Recommended / Additional Resources for Week 7

Michael W. Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” *The American Political Science Review* 80(4) (December 1986): 1151-1169.

Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, Eds, *Debating the Democratic Peace*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1996.

Jonathan Monten, "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy," *International Security* 29, no.4 (Spring 2005): 112-156.

Week 8 – Public Attitudes about War

February 25 – The Sources of Public Consent (63 pages)

If Public Consent for War is so Critical in Democracies, What Drives It?

Chris Gelpi, Jason Reifler and Peter Feaver. “Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq,” *International Security* 30(3)(Winter 2005-6): 7-46.

Adam Berinsky, “Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict.” *Journal of Politics* 69 (4) (2007): 975-997.

February 27 – The U.S. in WWII: FDR, the Public, & the Politics of Propaganda (50 pages)

Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Read Chapter 3 (p.33-57).

Gerd Horten, *Radio Goes to War: the Cultural Politics of Propaganda During World War II*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press. 2002. Read Chapter 2 (p.41-65).

Recommended / Additional Resources for Week 8

Jonathan Monten, "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy," *International Security* 29, no.4 (Spring 2005): 112-156.

Scott Sigmund Gartner and Gary M. Segura, "War, Casualties, and Public Opinion," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(3) (June 1998): 278-300.

Week 9 – The Conduct of War

March 4 – Military Effectiveness I (39 pages)

Do Democracies Fight More Effectively?

Dan Reiter and Allen C. Stam, *Democracies at War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2002. Read Chapter 3 (p.58-74).

Stephen Biddle and Stephen Long, "Democracy and Military Effectiveness: A Deeper Look," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (4) (August 2004): 525-546.

March 6 – Military Effectiveness II (75 pages)

Or do Efforts to Limit Costs Undermine Effectiveness and Restraint?

Dan Reiter and Allen C. Stam, *Democracies at War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2002. Read Chapter 7 (p.164-179).

Stephen M. Saideman and David P. Auerswald, "Comparing Caveats: Understanding the Sources of National Restrictions upon NATO's Mission in Afghanistan," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 56, No. 1 (March 2012): 67 – 84 (18 pages).

Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2008. Read Introduction & Chapter 1 (p.1 - 41).

Recommended / Additional Resources for Week 9

Gil Merom (2003). *How Democracies Lose Small Wars*. Cambridge, UK & New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Especially Chapter 1 (p.3-32) & Vietnam section in Chapter 15 (p.231-237).

MARCH 10 – 14: SPRING BREAK

Week 10 – Strategic Bombing & Humanitarian Intervention

March 18 – The Use of Strategic Bombing (41 pages)

Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2008. Read Chapter 4 (p.115-155).

(In-class screening of PBS documentary – *American Experience: The Bombing of Germany* (2010))

March 20 – Theories of Humanitarian Intervention (59 pages)

How do domestic politics affect the propensity to pursue humanitarian intervention?

Chaim D. Kaufman and Robert A. Pape, “Explaining Costly International Moral Action,” *International Organization* 53(4) (Autumn 1999): 631 – 668.

George F. Kennan. “Somalia, Through a Glass Darkly.” *The New York Times*. September 30, 1993. (2 pages)

Jonathan Mermin, “Television News and American Intervention in Somalia: The Myth of a Media-Driven Foreign Policy,” *Political Science Quarterly* 112(3) (Autumn 1997): 385-403.

Week 11 – Humanitarian Intervention, Cont’d

March 25 – Rwanda and Darfur: Two Sides of the Same Coin? (79 pages)

How can we relate these theories to policy toward Rwanda and Darfur?

Samantha Power, “Bystanders to Genocide.” *The Atlantic*. September 2001: 84 – 108.

Rebecca Hamilton, *Fighting for Darfur: Public Action and the Struggle to Stop Genocide*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan. 2011. Read Chapters 2-4 (p.13-54) & 6 (p.71-82).

March 27 – In-Class Exam 2

PART III: APPLICATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Week 12 – Trade and Globalization

April 1 – Screening of *Victory Through Air Power* (Walt Disney, 1943)

April 3 – Trade Policy and International Mobility (62 pages)

Who is helped and harmed by free trade, protection, and globalization? How do leaders use these tools to advance their own interests and those of their constituents?

BDM Chs.10-11 (Read all, p.321-382)

+ *Distribute Paper Topics; Discuss Expectations*

Week 13 – Trade (Cont'd) and The IMF

April 8 – Trade Policy Simulation Activity (35 pages)

Alexandra Guisinger, "Determining Trade Policy: Do Voters Hold Politicians Accountable?" *International Organization* 63(3) (July 2009): 533-557.

Ernest J. Wilson III, "Silicon Valley Needs a Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (June 2012). (3 pages)

James Surowiecki, "Deal Sweeteners," *The New Yorker*, 2006. (3 pages)

Jim Spencer, Mike Hughlett, Jeremy Herb, "In Congress, no one beats the influential beet lobby," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, February 2012. (4 pages)

April 10 – The Politics of the IMF (72 pages)

What does the IMF do? What are the politics surrounding decisions to seek IMF loans, and to finance the organization's operations?

James Raymond Vreeland, *The International Monetary Fund: Politics of Conditional Lending*. London & New York: Routledge. 2007. Read Introduction and Chs. 1-3.

Week 14 – Foreign Aid

April 15 – Domestic Origins and Effects of Aid (62 pages)

Does foreign aid work? Who gives it, and why? What are its effects? Do some governments use it better than others?

BDM, Chapter 12 (Read all, p. 383 – 414)

David A. Baldwin, "The Congressional Politics Of Foreign Aid," *Challenge* 14(1) (September/October 1965): 22-25.

John Norris, "5 Myths about Foreign Aid," *The Washington Post*. April 28, 2011. (2 pages)

Polly J. Diven, "The domestic determinants of US food aid policy," *Food Policy* 26(5) (October 2001): 455-474.

Tina Rosenberg, "When Food Isn't the Answer to Hunger," *New York Times*, April 24 2013.
(4 pages)

April 17 – No Class (Away at Conference)

Recommended / Additional Resources:

J. Lawrence Broz and Michael Brewster Hawes, "Congressional Politics of Financing the International Monetary Fund," *International Organization* 60(1) (Spring 2006): 367-399.

Week 15 – Climate Change

April 22 – The Politics of Emissions Reduction (33 pages)

BDM Ch.7 BDM (Read p.243 – 250) and Ch.8 (Read all, p.267-292)

April 24 – Course Wrap-up

– *Final papers due in class*